The houses were all built on the same pattern, only some being taller, wider and of better quality wood and thatch than others. 342

Facing the street in line, each house had a verandah running all along its face, and one step took you up from this into the main room of the house. As you entered, this room extended right up to the roof which sloped very steeply down to its eaves, but about twelve feet in, where the roof was just high enough, a platform upper storey was built, looking over a balustrade into the main room below. This platform storey ended where the sloping roof again became too low at the back. The back portion reaching to the height of the roof was used for kitchen and washing rooms. By this time, in the row of houses containing ours, the ground had sloped down to the creek, and the kitchen was continued as a bamboo platform raised high above the mud on piles.

Grandmother, who had become among the wealthiest in the village, had made enlargements and adaptations within these lines. Her house was wider, with the clearing up of an adjacent house. It contained four door spaces in its face, each door space being a uniform seven feet in width throughout the village. The main floor was of fine polished teak boards, the part below the platform storey was walled off into a bedroom which was very badly ventilated and lighted, the back portion was cleared of all washing rooms and made into a large airy kitchen about 30 feet square, and the platform behind was extended right over the water's edge because we had bought a mooring site further up. On this bamboo platform two hatches were put as bathrooms, containing commodes in the European style, whereas other households walked to the common latrines in the first clearing beyond the street.

The people of Ye lived chiefly by the produce of their gardens, the richer ones like Grandmother sending out to big towns their durians, coconuts, areca nuts, or fish and oysters from the sea, the poorer ones vending fish and vegetables daily around the town, making thatch roofing out of *dani* (nipah) leaves, acting as boatmen up and down the creek, helping to work the gardens and paddy-fields of other families. 244 226 463

My grandmother's household during these years consisted of herself, two aunts, one widow and one spinster, an uncle next to my father in age, my young Uncle Pyant and various cousins, one, two and three wombs removed from us. My elder uncle, Uncle Thet Hnan, had never been out of Ye; after going through the monastery he had worked in the gardens instead of going to an English-teaching school. It gave us an uncanny feeling to see him so like my father in build and general appearance and so dissimilar from him in speech, thought and habits. He now owned gardens up at Chaung-bya, and had five children all of whom had been brought up in Ye. My three boy cousins had been 592

[I at Ye - Analyst]

592 sent to stay with us at various times and were sent to schools which taught English, but nothing would persuade them to take any interest in studies. My cousin Nyein Maung, whom I liked very much, could never bear to keep a shirt on, which was why he was always to be found with only a longyi tucked around his loins playing chinlon or helping boatmen with their canoes, when he should have been sitting fully clothed in a class-room.

[601] My young Uncle Pyant, whom we called U-Ngè, small Uncle, had 693 passed his B.A. and his law degree, and returned to Ye in preference to 177 a more modern life in a larger town. He walled off one doorway's space 164 from the main room of the house and filled it with bookcases, a big desk and chairs for visitors. Outside this room my Uncle Pyant put up a sign saying: *"A-htet tan shaynay gyi:* Advocate and Higher Grade Pleader," and within a very short time became the lawyer of the whole village; but so great was his attachment to this consultation-living-room, which had nothing in common with the rest of Ye, that he relinquished all cases whose developing complexities led client and lawyer to a higher court in Moulmein.

592 Grandmother had gardens about ten miles up the creek from Ye.
244 These contained coconuts, durians and areca nuts grown over about
276 fifty acres for commercial disposal. Around the bungalow in the centre
427 of the garden there grew mangosteen, rambutan, pomeloes and pineapples for eating on a large-scale, clumps of bamboos, a coffee tree, tobacco plants, capsicum, lime and citron trees, lemon grass, and vegetables of all kinds to serve the needs of the bungalow and the household in town. My aunts with one young male relative took turns to live at the garden and help the family that was hired to look after it permanently. It was a dangerous life in these plantations as dacoities were very frequent. [501] The produce was taken down to Ye in a succession of graceful narrow boats shaped out of single tree trunks. The durians and coconuts were [447] sold straight away to traders who travelled between Moulmein and Ye for this purpose. The areca nuts were first dried on a bamboo atti made by an extension of the platform upper storey of the house until it met the back slope of the roof. When they were dried the whole family gathered around in the back kitchen and removed the husks with blunted nutcrackers, leaving the smooth nut to be sold.

244 With the rice from the paddy-land on the opposite bank, fruits,
262 vegetables and spices from the garden, rolling their cheroots with a mix-
226 ture containing tobacco in leaves shed by the areca trees in the garden
438 and grinding their own coffee berries, my aunts and grandmother only
276 needed to buy a little fish and meat for their daily consumption. The they could not provide themselves owing to the Buddhist law against

taking life. Only the hardened ones of the village, *ta-nga-thès*, drew and netted in the wealth of fish around Ye, and the theoretical condemnation in which their profession was held absolved all good Buddhists from any sin in eating the fruits of their labours. My aunts bought vast quantities of fish for salting and drying. This cured fish supplied our yearly needs as well as theirs. They also bought prawns to press into a paste called *ngapi*, in this case *seinsa* ngapi, which forms the basis of all our flavouring and condiments. As soon as the ta-nga-thè came up with his boatloads of prawns they were spread out on rough bamboo mats and sunned on the big platform behind the house. When they were fairly dried, my aunts, with a helper or two from the village, mashed up the prawns by hand, throwing in vast quantities of salt as they worked. The mess was left in the sun for a few days, being stirred every now and again. By this time it had turned into a grey-black paste, more or less smooth, smelling most pungent and rotten to foreigners but *hmwày-dè*, fragrant, to us, and tasting like a concentrate of anchovy. This paste is stored in small glazed earthenware jars. It is used to flavour all meat and vegetables dishes, or is fried or pounded with other ingredients to provide condiments for the meal. The Tenasserim coast is the chief source of seinsa ngapi in Burma, the big towns of Tavoy and Mergui supplying towns in Upper Burma as well. The large amounts of salt needed come from the valuable salt fields in this area which produce about 6,000 tons annually.

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It can be imagined what excitement a holiday at Ye caused us in our growing years, and even my mother's admonitions that we were to behave in accordance with strict Burmese ideas which prevailed at Ye rather than the un-Burmese habits acquired at school did not dampen our excitement. We were then at English-speaking schools where we had adopted the habit of calling each other by name. The eldest of my young sisters Mya Mya, is seven years younger than I am, but when she went to school I had only two sisters left who called me respectfully, *Ma-Ma Gyi*, elder sister, and by the time the youngest was at school there was no Ma Ma Gyi left in the family. The tradition of the younger ones fetching and carrying for the elder had also sadly deteriorated.

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At meals, my mother had not kept up the custom of helping the eldest person present with a portion of every dish before it was open to the rest of the company. Before we went to Ye, therefore, my mother gathered us around her and told us how we were to behave so as to give our grandmother and aunts great pleasure in our visit and no rude shocks. "Now don't forget, *the-mi-to*, my daughters, you will all three call your sister Big-Elder-Sister; you, Pusu, are to call Mya Mya Middle-Elder-Sister, and Aye Little-Elder-Sister. In fact you should

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2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

demand. The indignation which a crusade against the condiment by a young civil officer with more zeal than discretion caused in 1880, will not soon be forgotten. Cholera was rather bad in Yandun, one of the great places for ngapi, and the Assistant Commissioner, convinced that the heavy smells must be the cause of it, issued an order forbidding the manufacture of the fish-paste, or its sale in the public markets, as well as that other cherished but strong-smelling dainty, prawn-head oil. The result was an avalanche of petitions to the Chief Commissioner, and something very like open riot in the town. Equanimity was not restored till the too energetic official was removed to another station, and the lugyis pointed exultantly to the fact that as soon as they began to make up arrears in the way of ngapi consumption, cholera left the place. Nevertheless, Yandun is not a charming place of residence to a man with a sensitive nose.

Fishermen are promised terrible punishments in a future life for the number of lives they take, but popular sympathy finds a loophole of escape for them. They do not actually kill the fish. These are merely put out on the bank to dry, after their long soaking in the river, and if they are foolish and ill-judged enough to die while undergoing the process, it is their own fault. Nevertheless, some strict people hold by the doctrine of the Manichæans, who asserted that the soul of the farmer migrated into herbs so that it might be cut down and thrashed out. The baker becomes bread and is eaten. The killer of a deer becomes a deer; of a fish, a fish; and so on. But nevertheless, if all the fishermen became monks one day, the next would see some of the pious trying their hands with the cast-net.

MOKE

Work in Pathwe

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U Myaing is an IN fisherman and in normal times he is helped by his family in catching and preparing fish. Another source of revenue is also renting out oxen and the making of mats usually relied on only when there is little other work. He regards himself as "one who works INS on a large scale", and on further questioning it appears that he was a sort of foreman working with a group of IN fishermen. About 95 other workers in Pathwe made their living by fishing and fish processing, but there were also some cultivators. In addition there were 9 or 10 in the paddy husking business, 4 or 5 merchants and one gardener. With these few introductory remarks let us examine in some detail the nature of IN fishing.

U Myaing describes the IN fishery of which he was a part as follows:-

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"The IN is located upstream about two miles from Pathwe. The trap is remade every year and costs anywhere from Rs. 5000/- to Rs. 10,000/- to make. It takes twenty men about one month to make the trap. First we plant timber poles, after which we put up the YIN- strips of bamboo held together by coconut fibre rope, in such a manner as to present a large flat surface. When the YIN has been safely put up (across the entire width of the stream) the fish are carried down (by the current) through the SHAW (inclined plane of the sluice) and they are caught at the end. At the deep end the bamboo fence is about 16 taungs high and only a little of the poles remain above water. These poles have to propped up by other timber poles. Then the YIN are placed across these poles and tied in position. All the water has to flow along this small channel, and the force of the current washes up the fish (at the end of the SHAW). The poles are hammered down into the earth to a depth of one LAN (one yard) The water passes through the dam, but the fish cannot. The fish cannot swim upstream again because of the force of the water in the narrow sluice, which is only about eight taungs across. The length of the trap is approximately 100 feet whereas the width across the stream is 200 feet. When the floods are high at times the fish do get away. The water spills over and the fish do escape. We catch the remaining fish. When the water increases we have to extend the dam sideways a long way. But the height of the dam cannot be raised. In the dry season those fish which have gone over are left stranded outside the IN by the retreating waters. Some people fish below the dam with nets and fish hooks.

"When the rains come, that is the time they spawn. This time is called MYA-THI-THI time. At this time the fish group together to go upstream. The better the rains, the better the catch. After these fish have passed, the MOKE is closed. The fish spawn at the beginning of the rains after they have collect and passed upstream. At about the month of TAW-THA-LIN (last month of the rains season) the MOKE is closed and the fish that come down with the force of the water are picked up. If many fish go upstream - fish that spawn, then we get a good catch. If only few spawning fish go up, we get a bad catch. Even

if there are many fish, if the water is bad they may die off -- and do not come down to the KHE. When the water is good we get many fish. When the water is bad it is called YE-MAR-DE (the water is hurt). When the water is bad they die off on their own and become putrid on this side; they do not come down. When the water is bad it stops the coming down of fish even more effectively than if a YIN barrier were put up (further upstream.) They do not come down to the mouth of the KHE. 226 221 132

"There are 80 or 100 fishermen working at the CHAING-MA-GYI IN where I work. Thirty of those are from TWA-GYI-BAT and they are the only IN workers there, although there are 7 other INS in the neighbourhood. They work for 6 months out of the year. During the month of TAGU when the fish is sold, we start on the YIN and work through the months of KASON, NAYON, WASO, WAGAUNG, TAWTHALIN and in TAWTHALINwe place it in the IN. Water comes down and with it the fish, and we end upabout the month of PYATHO. In the hot season we catch the remaining fish and after the hot season the INS are again auctioned by the Government. 226

"Night and day the fish are coming down and they have to be gathered up in wicker baskets and poured into tubs. They are coming down all the time. We have no special work time; both night and day. That is why there have to be so many workers. We have watches. If this person watches this night, that person watches the next night and another person the next night. They have to stay till morning. The person who has watched up till morning is given a turn (to rest) and another person placed there for the next night. The fisherman works for a day and a night. Then shifts are changed. The man who works from the afternoon is given a rest in the morning. There are shifts of eight to nine men at a time. These nine men are changed after a day and a night. They rest for a day and a night. 226 461

"Some of the more common fish are:- Nga Thaing, Nga Gyin, Nga Gyaung, Nga Myit Chin, Nga Dan, Nga Myin Yin; small fish are plentiful, Nga Khamma, Nga Hpare Aung, Nga Bat, Nga Khu, Nga Gyi; you get a lot. During one shift, (one day and one night) 2000 fish may come down, 3000 fish may come, or there may be 500, or there may be only 100. You cannot say for sure. At the end of the SHAW the fish are scooped up with kerosene tins and poured into the boat with wicker baskets. After that they are taken home. We take both big and small fish, The big ones are caught by hand and kept alive in big tubs, and it is the small fish that are scooped up with kerosene tins. We take all the fish that are stranded at the sluice end. The tiny fish escape through the YIN. Some larger fish also escape if the YIN cracks are wide.

"The large fish are kept alive and sent to the Rangoon markets and to various towns. They usually stay alive this way. When the distance is great they are placed in ice and sent. The other fish are dried or made into fish paste or NGAPI. In making Ngapi, the heads are first cut off. The scales are removed by wrapping the fish in gunny-bags and stamping with the feet after the bag has been placed in a tub. After that they are washed and salt is put in. After mixing thoroughly with salt they are pressed into jars. Those who want to pound their fish into NGAPI DAUNG (pounded ngapi) leave their fish to become putrid and then pound them. Those who want to keep them raw (ASHIN) do not. 226 438 263

Mr Aye Myaing describes the preparation of ngapi as follows:-

"The fish have to be chopped and placed in water; after the scales are removed, the fishes are chopped and placed in water for a night. In the morning the putrid fish are taken out, mixed with salt and laid out to dry. In the evening they are again mixed with salt and pounded. You pound the fish today, lay 251 263

it out to dry in the sun throughout the next day, then pound again and store in jars. The total process takes two days."

U Myaing continues his explanation of the IN fishery:-

"The fishery is worked on a co-operative basis. We contribute equal sums of money. If one puts up Rs. 100/- all put up Rs.100/-; if Rs.1000/- all put up Rs.1000/- each. We group together and work. Rights to the site of the fishery must be secured from the government by auction. We have to make an initial payment of about Rs. 1000/- or Rs. 2000/- and in bidding among ourselves the price increases to eight thousand, nine thousand, ten thousand, twelve thousand. The original price was three thousand rupees. This is the cost of the Deputy Commissioner's auction. There were many bidders at the auction for the IN. Four, five, six. For example if I give a thousand rupees you offer two thousand, he gives three, four, five thousand ..... When it comes to the hand of the successful bidder the price has increased. The money for the fishery rights have to be paid in later (after the fishing has begun). For example if I pay in a thousand rupees this month, I pay a thousand the next month and the next, in several instalments. This is in addition to the amount we sink into the actual working of the business. (Cost of constructing the IN and equipment).

"The fishermen do not get paid a salary. They have shares. Accounts are kept of how much fish is caught, how much sold, and only after the IN has been worked to the end of the season is everything cleared up. Each fisherman gets only one share, and the profits are equally divided. We have to pay equal amounts of money for the IN and the money we get from the IN is the same for each of us. We all group and work together. There are some INS where one takes the lead and engages all the men and works it for himself. What he gets he keeps for himself. He pays the wages. In selling, we discuss the matter among ourselves and then sell. The four or five elders get together and if they decide to sell this kind of fish for this price, it is sold.

"As one of the elders, I go along and bid at the auctioning in the Deputy Commissioner's office. I also supervise the actual fishing saying to the other fishermen - "Do this, and this and this." I have a list of what things they need and have to go and buy these things for them. I have to buy poles, I have to buy IN bamboo, I have to buy all the implements which are to be used. I have to collect money, and buy all the implements used in the IN. I have to keep accounts for this. I get a bit more money (than the other fishermen) by making goods (from the profits of manufacture). You see, I also make dried Nga-gyi fish and Ngapi-daung. I buy the fish from them and process it. I have not worked at INS all my life. I worked for about ten years at the time when the British king reigned. When the Japanese came I worked at INS no longer."(He then bought fish and sold the preparations.)

U Myaing gives the following supplementary information:

" There are ten leaders or foremen in the village, each of them taking charge of about seven or eight men. In all there are about eighty workers in the three sub-villages of Pathne working with me at our IN. About thirty or forty of these live in IN-GYI-BET on our side of the river. These are men working at our IN only. There are also workers living in the village who work in the six other INS of the neighbourhood. About a hundred of the two hundred families in IN-GYI-BET work INS. The rest process the fish, dry it, make ngapi etc., and to do this they have to buy the fish from the IN workers. Afterwards they sell to buyers who come from Upper Burma. Or sometimes they go upcountry in boats and steamers to sell the produce. Some people who are not IN workers go to the INS and help to extract fish oil. Fish like Nga-Spare-daung yeild about one viss of oil to every 10 viss of fish. The fish are cut open with a knife and the fat collected. The women come and help without payment and take home oil for themselves when they go back. The women of my household also used to do this.

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also used to do this. Sometimes they are able to extract about 5 viss of oil each in one day. 226● 463 621

"There are also cultivators in the village. Some of those who work IRS also own fields. They rent out the land to tenants. There are altogether 12 people in our village who own cultivation fields. But the biggest landowner does not own lands more extensive than three hundred acres. Some own 40 or 50 acres. Some engage cultivators and work their fields themselves, while others rent out the fields for a certain percentage of the produce. 421 463 621 427

"There were paid workers in the IN. They were paid, not a daily wage, but a monthly salary of Rs. 30/- without food. About 50 of the 80 workers were paid workers, though some of them owned shares as well. In addition to their pay, these paid workers received quite a lot of fish which their families went around selling. They get one or two basket-loads of fish to sell, and in this way make quite a lot of money. 226 463 465

"Fish is not distributed in this manner every day - only when the fish start coming down in great numbers. On these occasions however the workers get about 25 to 30 viss each - that is, by the boatload. Ordinarily they are given just enough for one meal.

"I also own eleven cows; eight for loaning out to cultivators and three for breeding purposes. No milk is drawn for human consumption because that is not the custom in our native place." 231 [272]

One yoke of oxen hired out brought U Myaing 50 baskets of paddy a year. He had 4 yokes. They kept by 100 baskets for home consumption and sold the rest at a rate fluctuating between Rs. 100/- and Rs. 175/- per hundred baskets.

In those years when U Myaing works at IRS, he has to confine himself to such work only. During those years when he does not work at IRS, he buys the fish from IN workers and process them for sale as NGAGYI, NGA-CHAUK, etc. Each year he uses between four to five thousand fish. When U Myaing his co-workers could not get an IN, he had to buy fish and make NGA-CHAUK, (dried fish), NGAPI and NGANPYAR-YE. 226 463 433

On his former visits to Rangoon U Myaing came in a boat loaded with NGAGYI CHAUK (dried NGA GYI) and transferred it to the care of a broker in Rangoon. He then ascended the Shwe Dagon pagoda platform, donated money and water, returned to the broker, and went around the town to places like Mogul Street (the Indian quarter) for meats and ate pillau-rice etc. It took three or four days, and sometimes about ten days for the broker to dispose of his goods and in this time he would go round all the pagodas in Rangoon like the Botataung, Sule, Kyauktawgyi etc. Once he went to a Chinese hotel known as the HAN-HIN hotel together with some traders from DANUBYU. They pooled the expenses. The journey home took a day and a night. He took back with him clothes, longyis, KINGYIS, durian fruit, 226 438 484 [778]

726 438 484 [431] oranges, guava fruit, mangosteen fruit - together worth about forty or fifty rupees. When he arrived at Pathee this was distributed among the members of his family, and also some relatives and the phongyis. On one such trip he made Rs. 2700/- which he carried back hidden away in a jar of salt.

494 465 U Myaing never came in to Rangoon purely for a visit. Besides bringing down fish, U Myaing also came to Rangoon before the war to buy some motor parts and accessories such as tyres, tubes, etc. which they could not obtain in Pathee village or in Pantanaw town. At that period in his life U Myaing used to drive a bus between Pathee and the village on the bank of the river across from Pathee. There was a cart track for a road, and they used to carry passengers at a rupee per head. In the rains this cart track became impossible and so they traversed this route only from TA-ZAUNG-BON to KASON months. U Myaing worked on this route for three summers. In the rains they shifted operations to the Maubin Ye Le route, which was a 10 mile journey, and occasionally the 10 mile route from Ye Le to HSE-DEING-

[491] MAW. He worked at these places for two rainy seasons, from WASO right up till the month of TA-ZAUNG-BON. The bus was owned by his cousin who collected all the earnings for each day. At that time bus drivers were hired at Rs. 45/- a month, plus sweet tea, food, shelter and one packet of cigarettes a day. "In Pathee all the houses were too large and could accomodate a great many more people than they actually did. This was because each one erected his own building after the example of the other houses in the village. The person who hired the bus driver merely installed him in his home".

[589] This was when U Myaing was 17 or 18 years old. He was not paid anything, but the family was provided with everything they needed - food, clothes, etc. (U Myaing was still unmarried and the family

[582] consisted of two sisters, his mother and himself. (He did not marry

[431] till the age of thirty.) Both U Myaing and Daw Aw Zar estimated that the things they received from the bus owner would have amounted to much more than forty five rupees' worth.

General Attitudes of the Burmese toward Work.

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Rank and status in the Burmese Village is determined to a large extent on the basis of occupation - with the factor of wealth where applicable taking precedence over occupation. The highest rank is accorded to the Buddhist monks who exert the ultimate influence. Government officials including the township officers, the THU GYI (headman) and elders, and the schoolmaster occupy the second rank. The large land owners (of this group the rice-mill owners rate highest) rank next. Below these are the tradesmen - the paddy dealers, shop keepers and small holdings farmers who comprise the bulk of the population. Professional artisans such as carpenters, blacksmiths, gold and silver smiths occupy a lower position. However, it is common for the small holdings farmers to practice a secondary occupation such as pottery making.

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Fishermen and hunters are looked down on by the rest of the community because they offend Buddhist precepts by taking life. In this class also are those who raise animals (cows, poultry, pigs) for food, smugglers and brewers. Fishermen, particularly those such as U Myaing who operate IN fisheries often become wealthy, but the stigma of the source of this wealth is remembered by the community.

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A story is told of a rich fisherman who came to cover the Shwe Dagon Pagoda in Rangoon with gold plate. Unfortunately, he had sinned so much by taking the lives of fish that he could not see the pagoda. In a rage he returned to his IN to cover its posts with the gold. Because of the stigma attached to fishing those who make their living in this way tend to live together in their own communities. Thus Pathae, U Myaing's village is primarily a fisherman's community.

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In the days of the Burmese kings, wealthy men and nobles (THAKIN) would assign people under their command to serve as pagoda slaves. Their names were engraved in stone and their descendants for all eternity assigned to this position. The duties were light - consisting mainly of sweeping the platforms and carrying for the images, but the social position was next to the lowest. It is believed that the flower venders on the platform of the Rangoon

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

193. DABBING WITH FLY.

Next to the rice-industry the greatest industry of Burma is the catching and curing of fish. Unlike the rice, the fish is entirely for local consumption. The fisherman gets his living by taking life, contrary to the cardinal injunction of the Buddha — "let him not destroy, or cause to be destroyed, any life at all, or sanction the acts of those who do so." The subterfuge which the specious resort to in using animal food, namely, that they had no share in the act of taking life, was thus provided against by the Buddha in the form of his injunction. The Burman is a kind master to his animals, but much cruel suffering results from neglect of injuries, such as *dā*-cuts, often inflicted in temper. The merit of putting a suffering creature out of pain is not recognised or is denied. The reluctance to take life is operative in preventing the people at large from obtaining other animal food than fish. But such is the craving for flesh that the Burmans will consume that of animals dead from natural causes and of many animals commonly rejected for food. The Burmans do not eat the flesh of the monkey, dog, parrot and crow. The ways of taking fish are legion. Hooks are used with bait and also to mount a fly for dabbing (*hsa lait*). A contrivance to be seen along the banks of every river is the *kaydu*, a cage trap with falling door for large fish. Fish-spearing is practised by day and also by torch-light at night. On the largest scale, fish are taken by drawing off the water from the flat lagoons which form in the depressions of the *kwin* (*in*, p. 49). Screens of bamboo or reeds are set in the channels while the floods are

194. CAGING FISH SINGLY (SAUNG-TO').

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 APl Burma
Burmese AP4

226 draining off. When the weather is clear enough for the work of curing, the residue of water is run out and the fish are taken. Where the channels do not drain the *in* of its water, the fish are taken by men who advance close abreast up the length of the lagoon with conical cages which they thrust to the bottom

195. CAGING FISH IN COMPANY.

at every step, taking out the fish they catch by an opening at the top (*saung-tô*). But the water in some lagoons remains too deep for this plan, and then *tugaung* are made. These are enclosures along the margins of the lagoons into which the fish are enticed by the shelter of green boughs laid on the surface of the water. Small fish are caught with the casting-net (*kwun*). Heavy nets for river and sea fishing are made of *paissau* twine, a kind of jute, tanned with cutch or *madamá* bark. Light nets are made of cotton twine. Drop-nets with floats of bamboo or *pa...* are used in the big rivers, the estuaries, and on the coast. This class of fishing is getting into the hands of settlers from India. Enormous quantities of small fry are taken in the estuaries in large funnel-shaped traps called *damlu*, which are anchored in the tidal currents. The shark tribe (*ngamán*) are common on the coast. The fish most prized in Burma is *ngathaláuk* (*hilsa*), but there are many kinds of excellent fish. Large fish are slit, salted and sun-dried. The eggs of the turtle are collected on the laying-

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196. FISH WEIR AND TRAP.

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 API Burma
Burmese AP4

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198. SLUICE OF LAGOON FISHERY (IN)

banks. Ducks' and fowls' eggs are also eaten.

Small fry and the bony fish are made into the Peguan condiment *ngapi*—pressed fish. The process is essentially the same as that of anchovy paste manufacture, but is conducted in a much rougher way. The fish after being taken are spread out in the sun and then pounded in a mortar, again sunned and again pounded with about a quarter their weight of salt. Fermentation is not uniformly arrested at the proper stage, so that the product becomes contaminated with putrescence. According as the compound remains moist or dry it is made into balls, moulded into bricks, or stored in jars. *Ngapi* is sent to Burma Proper and the Shan States in enormous quantities. Fresh fish, dried fish, and *ngapi* are much the same in price, one half to one rupee the viss (3.65 lbs.) according to quality. *Ngachin* is a crude and unwholesome pickle made by putting fish to ferment with boiled and salted rice.

258 Salt used to be obtained from sea-water and from brine wells in the interior, before the import of salt began. The manufacture still drags on, as the local salt is better for curing purposes. At spring-tides, sea-water in the estuaries is let into shallow pans like rice-fields, or it is raised with the *Ka-hnaw*. After the brine has been concentrated by evaporation in the heat of the sun, it is boiled down in spherical earthen pots, which are built with clay into a vault over a furnace. Iron cauldrons like those in No. 186 are superseding the earthen pots, and the round cauldron is in its turn being replaced by a flat iron pan.

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199. SHORE NET

The chase, so far from forming the diversion of princes and satraps, remains to the *vauriens* of the villages